

ABOUT THE PHONOLOGICAL TYPOLOGY OF BURUSHASKI

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In connection with the subject of this article it is important to remind of the fact, that Burushaski is the most isolated language in the centre of a region characterized by a very high measure of linguistic diversity. The main source of information concerning Burushaski is a well-known description of D.L.R. Lorimer, as well as the texts gathered by him and a glossary.¹ The works of the authors writing about Burushaski are usually based just upon this stuff. Unfortunately not all the data known about this language are described in a satisfactory way. The information that can be got from the texts is sometimes insufficient and needs rather often additional interpretation. Therefore the only thing for those, who have no possibility to undertake a field-investigation of Burushaski, remains to work out more or less general schemes, and to offer them to the judgement of others, who can prove their trust-worthiness in field-conditions. It is clear that the studies of that kind are inevitably connected with a certain risk. Nevertheless they seem to be necessary for the solution of such problems as the definition of the place occupied by Burushaski if not in the genealogical classification, then at least in the typological scheme.

In this article some observations will be made concerning the phonological system of Burushaski together with considerations about the place occupied by this language among the other languages of this region.

In D.L.R. Lorimer's book phonetics has been described not completely enough. There are cases when the author hesitates himself about the solution of a certain question. In other cases the reader will not find sufficient grounds in the reported phonetic data to make clear ideas about the phonological structure of Burushaski. Basing upon D.L.R. Lorimer's description, upon the texts collected by him and by Siddheswar Varma,² upon more ancient records (Biddulph, Leitner, "Linguistic Survey of India," Vol. VIII etc.) and upon his own observations, G. Morgenshtern has made the first effort to describe the phonological system of Burushaski.³ With a relative certainty he managed to prove the phonemic nature of the following sounds:

CONSONANTS											
q	qh	g	ŋ	č	čh	j	ʃ				
k	kh	g	ŋ	č	čh	j	ʃ				
l	lh	q	q̣	č	čh	j	ʃ				
t	th	d	n	č	čh	ʒ (= ʃ)	s				
p	ph	b	m								
r	l	y		y	v	h					

VOWELS							
i	e	o	u	ɪ	ɛ	ɔ	ʊ
ə							

These phonemes can be described in an economical way in terms of the distinctive features with the help of the following oppositions:

- 1. long / short, 2. aspirated / non-aspirated, 3. voiced / voiceless, 4. nasal / oral, 5. strident / mellow, 6. continuant / discontinuous, 7. cerebral / non-cerebral, 8. peripheral / medial, 9. compact / non-compact, 10. diffuse / non-diffuse, 11. consonantal / non-consonantal, 12. vocalic / non-vocalic.

The choice of these oppositions just in such an order is justified both by general considerations (see about them the other works of the author of these lines, and partly below) as well as by the fact, that there are descriptions of the languages of this region made in the same way. Therefore the phonological system of Burushaski can be compared with those of the neighbouring languages. The general scheme of the phonological tree of Burushaski is represented on the table 1.

This scheme of the phonological tree needs comments of two kinds.

First, there exists uncertainty concerning the *phonemic inventory*, and it would be difficult or even impossible to try to solve it only with the help of the available published texts. It is the more difficult, because the data of D.L.R. Lorimer and those of G. Morgenshtern sometimes contradict to each other. Among the dubious statements that need comments the following ones should be pointed out.

1) It is the postulate of the phonemic status of y, which is interpreted as a cerebral phoneme while g, r and q (cf. respectively g, r and q) are regarded as non-phonemes, their coming into existence being caused, as it is believed, by the presence of y (cf. gya's or gya's "infant", "baby"; gya'l or gya'l "thin bread made from watery dough" and so on); although some exceptions seem also to exist, as on the one hand: garye or tarye "piebald, variegated in colour", gayu "the red-legged hill partridge", "chikor", rayum "left (hand)", rayu or rayu "lame", "cripple"; gayi "pebbles beside water-course", i.e., "strand" and others, and on the other hand: gya's "to throw down",

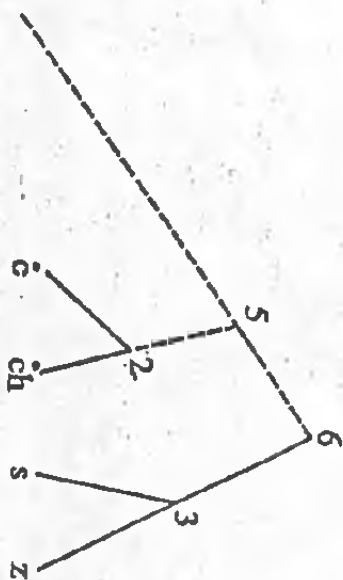
¹ See D.L.R. Lorimer, *The Burushaski Language*, Vol. 1-3, Oslo, 1935-1938; cf. also H.H. Zapp, *Burushaski*, *Буршаски* *Буршаски* *Буршаски*, Leningrad, 1927.

² See Siddheswar Varma, "Burushaski Texts" - *Indian Linguistics* 1, V-VI, pp. 6-32.

³ See G. Morgenshtern, "Notes on Burushaski Phonology" - *NTS*, XIII 1945, pp. 61-95.

Studies in general & Oriental linguistics. Presented to Shirō Hattori, ed. by Roman Jakobson & Shigeru Kawamata, 1970, The Company, Ltd.

⁴ See D.L.R. Lorimer, *Op. cit.* 1, pp. 6-7; G. Morgenshtern, *Op. cit.*, p. 69.
⁵ Cf. also the examples with qh and y being met in the same word: qhyre (qhyr) "pebble(s)".



and *j:z* (see D.L.R. Lorimer. *Op. cit.* I, pp. 211 ff: Vocabulary).¹⁰ Still it is impossible to take *č* and *z* for independent phonemes. It is interesting that a likewise asymmetry of relations between *č*, *ch* and *z* (*= j*), on the one side, and *č*, *ch* and *j*, on the other, can be traced also in Kashmiri;¹¹ the next stage of development is represented in Shina, where there exist on the one hand, *č*, *ch*, *z* and, on the other hand, *č*, *ch*, *j*, *z* and *č*, *ch*, *j*, *z*.¹² The transition of the voiced affricate into the fricative, while the voiceless affricates are preserved, is rather a common feature, and it can be convincingly explained.¹³ In Burushaski *z* can occupy the initial as well as the intermediate or final position (cf. *zay* "headache," *zar* "gold," *zor* "force," "violation," *zuzur*, *zuzur* "slight feeling of chill from fever," *arzan* "cheap," "plentiful," *maza*,

¹⁰ The same tendency is well known in the neighbouring Dardic languages. "The fluctuating nature of the opposition *j:z* is one of the characteristic features of the Dardic languages; cf. the change *j>z* in Dameli and Torwali (see G. Morgenshtern, "Notes on Dameli"—*NYS* XII, 1942, p. 121; G.A. Grierson, *Torwali, An Account of a Dardic Language of the Swat Kohistan*, London, 1929, p. 10), the interchange between *j* and *z* in Phalura in spite of their independent phonemic existence (see G. Morgenshtern, "Notes on Phalura, an Unknown Dardic Language of Chitral"—*Stylus* *Wigiti av Der Norkhe Videnskaps-Akademii*, II, *Fjerst-floer Klasse*, 1940, N 5, Oslo, 1941, p. 12), the possibility to interpret *z* as an allophone of *j* in Waijali (see G. Morgenshtern, "The Waijali Language"—*NYS* XVII, 1945, p. 159), almost complete loss of *j* in Shumashiti and the appearance of *z* in its place (see G. Morgenshtern, "Notes on Shumashiti, a Dardic Dialect of the Gawar-Bati Type"—*NYS* XII, 1954, p. 247) and so on. Some Dardic languages, by the way, preserve a more stable opposition *j:z* (cf. Shina, Gawar-Bati, Bashkarti, Prasu, Ashkun, Pashai). The stage of development of the opposition *j:z* represented in Dardic languages makes a transition from the situation in Iranian languages of the neighbouring area, where this opposition is retained (Tahashmi, Sanglecchi, Shughni and Roshani, Wabhi, Yidgha, Parachi, Ormuri, Pasho etc.) and that of Indo-Aryan languages, where this opposition does not exist because of the absence of *z*; cf. by the way, Dumiaki with its variation *j:z* (see D.L.R. Lorimer. *The Dumiaki Language*. Nijmegen, 1939, p. 23).

¹¹ See G. Morgenshtern, "The Phonology of Kashmiri,"—*Asia Orientalia*, Vol. 19, 1941, pp. 77 ff; *NYS* XII, 1945, p. 66;

¹² In a different way T.G. Bailey, *Grammar of the Shina (Shan) languages*, London, 1924; *The Sounds of Shina—Studies in North Indian Languages*, London, 1938; D.L.R. Lorimer "The Sounds of Shina"—*BSOS* Vol. 3, 1928, p. 800.

¹³ See N. S. G. ...

mu'za "long boots," *mijaz* "temperament," "nature," *mi'z* "table," *arz* "representation," "statement," "petition" and so on; cf. also pairs like *zui* "searching"; *jui* "pus," *zara* "power," "strength"; *jar* "to me," *zina* "formation," "adultery," *jino* "living alive" etc.

3) Agreeing with G. Morgenshtern upon the fact that "*j*" can hardly be considered to be a separate phoneme in Bur. (*Op. cit.*, p. 65), it is reasonable nevertheless to connect the final solution of this problem (only the peripheral fragment of the system is naturally meant here) with the statistic correlation of two opposite processes. The first one is the transition *ph>j* (through the *pf* stage) and the acceptance of new loan-words with *j* which does not undergo any substitution. The second one is the substitution of *f* and even of *p* through *ph* in foreign loan-words (cp. *farangi>pharangi* "sybilic," *musafir>musaphir* "traveller"; *phailis* "policeman" etc.). The situation is the more difficult, because there are such minimum pairs as *far* "omen"; *phai* "grain." The same seems to be the situation with *x* in those cases, when it is not a variant of *gh*, but forms a part of a loan-word. The difficulty is quite a different one, it consists in the contradictory information about *x*. G. Morgenshtern characterizes this sound as a "postvelar fricative," while D.L.R. Lorimer interprets *x* (and *r*) as "voiceless (and voiced) spirant(s) corresponding to *k* (and *g*)." According to the viewpoint *x* and *r* might be interpreted as continuant phonemes (voiceless and voiced) either of the postvelar or of the velar series. Unfortunately the information about *h* is rather vague (it is possible that it should be interpreted outside the class of the consonantal and non-vocalic phonemes).

4) It is not excluded that *e* and *o* should be counted in the vocalic phonemes; cf., for instance, *e'i* "my son" (<**a*+*i*): *e'i* "his daughter" (<**i*+*ai*). In that case *e*: *e*, *o*: *o* would be opposed as tense vs. lax.

5) It is very interesting that in Burushaski the cases of fluctuation and confusion of phonemes and their classes are very frequent not only in loan-words, but in indigenous words as well. Beside the above mentioned cases one can find in the vocabulary many examples of confusion of aspirated and non-aspirated, cerebral and non-cerebral, post-velar and velar, *n* and *ŋ*, *l* and *r* etc. At the same time it is relevant for a number of phonemes that their distributive abilities are rather limited (cf., for instance, the prohibition to be in a final or even in an intermediate position for some of these phonemes as well as relevant differences between the noun and the verb in the structure of the phonemic inventory etc.).

Secondly, there are different possibilities to describe a given inventory of phonemes with the help of distinctive features. For instance, the first stage of differentiation should be that of voiced *ṽ*, "voiceless," and only after that of aspirated *ṽ*: non-*ṽ*.

¹⁴ A similar distribution exists in Warchikwar. See D.L.R. Lorimer, *Warchikwar-English Voca-*

South-East, cf. Yazghulami—35,²⁸ Yidgha—31,²⁹ Wakhi—30,³⁰ Shina—33,³⁰ Balti—35³¹ etc. Out of the languages situated on the continuation of this region to the North-West only Yaghobi possesses 35 phonemes of the class C; this region is extended in the South-East by the Tibetan dialects which usually possess more than 30 phonemes of this class. Out of the other languages belonging to this region one should mention Ishkashmi-Sanglechi (26 phonemes), the Shughni-Roshani dialects and the Sarikoli language (25 phonemes). The bulk of the Dardic languages belongs to the South and South-West from this region. There the number of the phonemes of the class C as a rule is less than 30; cf. Phaltūra—29, Dameli—28, Bashkark—26, Ashkun, Waigali and Shumashti—23, Prasun—21 and so on.³² The exceptions are rare: beside Shina (33) cf. also Gawar-Bati—31 and Pashai—34,³³ as for Kashmiri the number of its consonantal phonemes changes greatly according to the interpretation of the *mātrā* vowels.³⁴ Farther to the South-West in the region of the West-Iranian languages (Pashto, Persian, Parachi, Ormuri, Balochi) the number of the phonemes of the class C does not exceed 30. The increase of this number begins only in Sindhi, where there are 36 phonemes of this class. The rest of the Indo-Aryan languages are characterized by the situation, when the number of phonemes does not exceed 30, and it decreases evidently in the directions to the East and South-East, cf. Marathi—30, Gujarati and Hindi—29, Nepali—28, Oriya and Bengali—25, Assamese—19, Sinhalese—15.³⁵ The same tendency is manifested even more clearly in some Non-Indo-Aryan languages; there such cases are not rare, when the 20 (cf. Tamil, Boro, Khasi, Mon³⁶ etc.). Nevertheless there are also exceptions, cf. Nahali, where there seem to be 40 phonemes of

¹⁸ Cf. Л. И. Зализняк, *Различия в языке*, Moscow, 1966, p. 14 ff. (including as separate phonemes the clicking affricated plosive C and the pharyngeal h); cf. also В. С. Соколов, *Очерки по фонетике иранных языков*, II, Moscow-Leningrad, 1953, pp. 193–195.

¹⁹ Cf. G. Morgenstierne, *Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages*, Vol. II, Oslo, 1938, p. 28 ff. (one should keep in mind that *l*, *d*, *ḡ*, *ḡ*, *ḡ* are met only in Yidgha, while *y* exists only in Mundi; *x*, *r* and *g* are variants and not independent phonemes).

²⁰ Cf. G. Morgenstierne, *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 443 ff. (such infrequent phonemes as *j*, *θ* are also included here). The system of consonantal phonemes, which can be restored with a certain probability on the basis of the description of Wakhi by D. L. R. Lorimer, would possibly differ only in details. See D. L. R. Lorimer, *The Wakhi Language*, Vol. 1, London, 1958, p. 12 ff.

²¹ See the above mentioned works by T. G. Bailey and also В. Н. Топоров, *Предварительные замечания*, pp. 183–183.

²² This Tibetan dialect situated in Balistan, in the extreme West of the Tibetan plateau, was described in the book by A. F. C. Read, *Balti Grammar*, London, 1934. Unfortunately, the phonetic description is reduced to a minimum in this book.

²³ See В. Н. Топоров, *Предварительные замечания*.

²⁴ See G. Morgenstierne, *The Pashtu Language*, Vol. I, Oslo, 1961.

²⁵ See В. Н. Топоров, "Фонетическая интерпретация консонантного в кашмирском и особенно в Б. А. Захарина, Кашмир: фонетика и фонология, текст и система," "Напои Азхи А фруи," 1963, N 3; Фонологическая структура языка кашмирского, Москва, 1968 (авторизованная диктатура).
²⁶ See Т. У. Елизаркова, "Concerning the Phonological Typology of Some New-Indo-Aryan Languages," *XIV International Congress of Orientalists*, Moscow, 1963.

²⁷ See H. J. Pinnow, *Versuch einer historischen Lautlehre der Khasi-Sprache*, Wiesbaden, 1939 pp. 51–52; P. Ch. Bhattacharya, *Indian Linguistics*, Vol. 17, 1957; L. Rabel, *Khasi, a Language of Assam*, Louisiana University Press 1961, p. 2, ff., etc.

the class C.³⁷

The existence of the opposition aspirated vs. non-aspirated seems to be a feature characteristic of a number of languages belonging to the "Central-Asiatic linguistic area." Burushaski also partakes of this feature, 8 pairs of phonemes being differentiated by means of it in this language. In the most part of the Dardic languages this feature is a relevant one—in Dameli and Shina for 7 pairs of phonemes, in Bashkark, Gawar-Bati and Kashmiri (in its minimum variant of description) for 6 pairs,³⁸ in Shumashti for 4 pairs. If there exist also voiced aspirates in Gawar-Bati, the distinctive feature of aspiration serves to differentiate in this language members of 10 pairs of phonemes³⁹ (and of 7 pairs in Phaltūra, if in general aspirated phonemes exist there—G. Morgenstierne avoids to express his opinion clearly about it). Only the Dardic languages of the South-West outlying districts have completely lost this opposition (it is absent in Ashkun, Prasun and Waigali). One should notice that out of the Iranian languages occupying the area adjacent to that of the Dardic languages this opposition seems to be relevant only in Parachi (cf. *k*: *kʰ*, *g*: *gʰ*, *ṣ*: *ṣʰ*, *t*: *tʰ*, *d*: *dʰ*, *p*: *pʰ*, *b*: *bʰ*). But it is widely spread all over the Indo-Aryan area (except in Sinhalese): in Bengali, Oriya, Nepali, Hindi, Marathi and Sindhi it serves to differentiate the phonemes of 10 pairs. At the same time one should bear in mind that phonemes outside the class C can also be distinguished by means of this feature, cf. *l*: *lh*, *r*: *rh*, and also such unusual for the class C pairs as *n*: *nh*, *ṛ*: *ṛh*, *m*: *mh*. A similar situation can be found in Kannada, Telugu, Malayalam; Kharja, Mundari, Santali, Kurku, Nahali, etc. The aspirated vs. non-aspirated variant of this opposition disappears farther to the South-East: it is missing already in Tamil, Sora, Mon, Khmer.⁴⁰ But the same opposition aspirated vs. non-aspirated is well known in the Tibetan dialects covering a broad region to the East from the Burushaski area.⁴¹ The opposition tense vs. lax in those languages where the opposition voiced vs. voiceless is distorted is of another kind, cf., for instance, the Ishkashmi language where for a number of reasons the opposition of voiced sounds to the voiceless ones might be interpreted as that of lax vs. tense (i.e., *d*: *t* > *t*: *th*).⁴² The

³⁷ See H. J. Pinnow, *Op. cit.*, p. 45 ff. also F. B. J. Kuiper, *Nahali, A Comparative Study*, Amsterdam, 1962. Cf. also H. Sh. Biligin, *Kharja, Phonology, Grammar and Vocabulary*, Poona, 1965, p. 1 ff.

³⁸ Cf. the maximum variant of Kashmiri—*k*: *kʰ*, *g*: *gʰ*, *ṣ*: *ṣʰ*, *t*: *tʰ*, *d*: *dʰ*, *p*: *pʰ*, *b*: *bʰ*.

³⁹ The pairs *r*: *rh*, *d*: *dh*, *c*: *ch*, *p*: *ph*, *b*: *bh*, *t*: *th*, *ṣ*: *ṣʰ*, *k*: *kʰ*, *g*: *gʰ*, *ṣ*: *ṣʰ* are meant here. See G. Morgenstierne, "Notes on Gawar-Bati"—*Skrifter utgitt av det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi i Oslo*, II *Hitt*—Filo, Klasse, 1950, N 1, pp. 7–8.

⁴⁰ See G. Morgenstierne, *Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages*, Vol. I.

⁴¹ In a number of cases *th* and the rest are treated in a phonemic way, as, for instance, in Sileng, Chrau, etc. See H. J. Pinnow, *Op. cit.*, pp. 60–61.

⁴² See A. F. C. Read, *Op. cit.*; G. de Roerich, *Tibetan, I, Dialects of Tibet, The Tibetan Dialects of Ladak*, Calcutta, 1933; *Le parler de l'Ambo*, Roma, 1958; R. A. Miller, "Studies in Spoken Tibetan, I"—*JOS* Vol. 75, 1955, p. 46 ff.; E. Richter, *Grundlagen der Phonetik des Lhasa-Dialekt*, Berlin, 1964 etc.

⁴³ See Т. Н. Павловича, *Исторический язык*, Moscow, 1959, p. 31. ff.

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Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Letters.

Volume VII, 1941.

Article No. 5.

Studies in Burushaski Dialectology. 472

By SIDDHESHWAR VARMA.

(Communicated by Dr. S. K. Chatterji)

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In his stimulating article on 'A Burushaski Text from Hunza' (BSOS, Vol. IV, Part III, pp. 505-31), Lt.-Col. D. L. R. Lorimer observes that the question whether the dialects spoken in Hunza and Nagar can be justly called separate dialects is one 'that requires further investigation' (p. 509).

This 'further investigation' was undertaken by the present writer. The results of his investigations, detailed in this paper, are as follows:—

- (1) The dialects of Hunza and Nagar are not separate, but closely allied.
- (2) The differences between them, however, are not 'superficial', but are historically important.
- (3) Phonologically and grammatically, the Nagar dialect preserves forms which are the relics of an older dialect, but in vocabulary, this dialect shows close contact with Shina, the vocabulary of Hunza showing fewer traces of Indo-European borrowings.
- (4) In order to reconstruct a comparatively primitive *gemini-Burushaski*, we therefore require the phonological and grammatical forms of Nagar, and the vocabulary of Hunza.

We shall now describe the distinctive features of Nagar and Hunza in Phonetics, Grammar and Vocabulary.

The following abbreviations may be noted:—Hu. = Hunza, N. = Nagar, Sh. = Shina, n. = neuter gender, aa. = active, animate gender.

I. PHONETICS.

The symbols of the *International Phonetic Association* have been used throughout the treatise. Of these symbols, the following may be particularly noted:—

ɛ sounds like e in English 'beet', but is closer.
e sounds somewhat like French e, but not so close.

The high-falling tone as in i 'he himself' and the low-falling tone as in ji 'his son' are marked as usual.

t and d are retroflex consonants, and are separate phonemes (cf. my article on *Burushaski Texts* in 'Indian Linguistics', Vol. I, parts V-VI, p. 11).

The phoneme g, a velar voiced fricative, has a large number of subordinate members, which vary according to position and with different speakers. Of these subordinate members, the following two may be mentioned:—

A uvular g, but more or less fricative (narrow transcription g) is often heard in the beginning of a word, as in *Hu. gjon* (broad transcription *gyon*) 'melon', *N. gjam*.

Much more striking is a r-like sound, transcribed here as *r*, pronounced much like the American *r* = *r*, but often more like *j*. The interchange of *g* with *r*-like sounds has been noted by Jespersen (*Lehrbuch der Phonetik*, 4th Edition, pp. 49-50).

Generally speaking. The sound at the end must be *r*. Cf. *g* can never end a word.

b'al 'millet'.
d'al 'fattened'.
l'al 'cucumber'.

r can never begin a word. The sound in the beginning must be *g* or *q*, which varies with individual speakers. Both the sounds *g* and *r* are distinctly heard in the following:—

dinn'e'galas 'to itch'.
gar'ido 'the bird called "Moe" in English'.
shilg'u'rum'e'las 'to dilute or soften'.
il'lagates 'to plaster a house with mud'.
galu 'lame' but cf. *galu* 'partridge'.

Another striking feature of this *r* is that it is much less voiced than *g*; sometimes it is heard like a devoiced *g*.

g' is an ejective recursive; it is accompanied with glottal closure, emission of breath with vibration (giving one the impression of an affricate or an 'incipient' fricative), and often low tone of the succeeding vowel. Cf.

g'i'ako 'Kashmir'.
g'i'alt 'ladle'.
g'ies 'to put in, insert, enter'.

(1) Contractions in *Hunza*.

The phonetic system of *Hunza* indicates it to be pre-eminently a dialect of contractions, and shows that *Nagarī* has

preserved the relics of older forms. Cf. the following forms of the verb *eyes* 'to do' in the Present Indefinite tense:—

	<i>N.</i>	<i>Hu.</i>
'I do'	je 'eabba	je 'eabba
'thou dost'	um 'eubba	uŋ 'e'ca
'he does'	me 'eubbei	'me 'e'ca'i
'we do'	mi 'eabban	mi 'eabban
'you do'	ma 'eubban	ma 'e'cam
'they do'	u 'eubban	u 'e'oon

Cf. also Past Continuous:—

	<i>N.</i>	<i>Hu.</i>
'I had been doing'	ja 'eabajem	ja 'eabajem
'thou hadst been doing'	'ume 'eubam	'uŋe 'e'cam
'he had been doing'	'me 'eubam	'me 'e'cam
'we had been doing'	mi 'eabam	mi 'eabam
'you had been doing'	ma 'eubam	ma 'e'cam
'they had been doing'	u 'eubam	u 'e'cam

This syncope in *Hunza* gives a diversity of meaning with diversity of stress-accent. Cf.

	<i>Hu.</i>	<i>N.</i>
'I shall do'	'e'em	'e'em
'he had been doing'	'e'cam	'eubam
'I brought'	'd'egam	'd'egam
'he had brought'	du'gam	'd'egubam
'I did'	'e'om	'e'om
'he had done'	'e'bam	'e'ubam
'I cooked'	d'egsrum	d'egshrum
'he had cooked'	d'egs'r'am	d'egshrubam

There is a similar syncope in the Neuter Pres. Indef. tense:—

	<i>N.</i>	<i>Hu.</i>
'it comes'	'jucbi'la	'ju'ila

Compare the following examples of syncope:—

<i>N.</i>	<i>Hu.</i>
gawhar'a	'a cradle'
'ulum ba	'inner apartment'
dush	'bring'
kykiki	'name of a bird of prey'
	kyki

N.

shichilētas 'to entirely screen from view'

Hu. shichilētas

nēs

'having seen'

nisen

nu'hulja

'having mounted'

nuyja

'shiger

'a she-goat'

shijr

dileik

'both of them'

dileik

ciltto

'the third day after the day-
after-tomorrow'

ciltto

muyam'daro

'our wives'

mujm'daro

e'manua

'I may be'

eunāsa

gu'manua

'thou mayest be'

gu'māsa

dēlga

'I may beat'

dēlga

dēlga

'thou mayest beat'

dēlga

bum (as)

'they were'

bum

Of particular interest are the Hunza contractions in *Negation*, which will be discussed under Grammar. In N. the uniform prefix for Negation is *au-*; in Hu. this *au-* has undergone many complicated changes. Cf.

N.

'aud'ae'lām

'I did not hear'

Hu.

'auje'am

'I did not see'

e'ajalam

'auje'aba

'I do not see'

e'elām

'audakōjel

'do not listen'

e'elāba

'auju

'do not give'

e'tukujel

'aujei

'do not eat'

eu

'aumi

'do not go'

e'ei

aujo'goibām

'would not give'

ojni

auwāqhojibi

'does not pain'

e'gubām

ajāqhojibi

Vowels.

Parallel to this tendency to contractions, Hunza vowels show monophthongs where Nagari has diphthongs. Cf.

N.

tejler

'thither'

Hu.

tejlum

'from there'

tejler

tarqei

'a wave'

tejlum

grubakus

'widow'

tarqei

aujer

'my husband'

grubakus

'auji

'my dream'

aujer

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N.

'aulos

Hu. 'my (woman's) brother' ojlos

'aunus

'beams' (from eyes) ojmus

'auri

'tongue' ojmus

aus

'nail' (of finger) ojri

'aulis

'my wife' ojs

'aujo

'my foot' ojris

daujn

'guest' ojfo

gaujn

'scarf' dojn

thaujn

'melon' gojn

gaujjes

'fresh coriander' thojn

jauj

'to pick up' gojjes

joj

This tendency to final -u in N. finds a parallel in Shina. Cf.

Sh.	mañ	'brain'	N. Hu.	'malo
	ñulu	'string'		
	danu	'bow for arrows'		

In many instances, especially in unstressed position, N. has the vowel *ə* where Hu. shows *u*. Even this variation may be a historical weakening in the case of Hu. *u*. Cf.

N.		Hu.
dogoi	'noon'	dugui
dorò	'work'	durò
mo'noyt	'a child insured against a fall by animal sacrifice'	manu'tt
gos'ki	'freshly kneaded dough'	gus'ki
'lof'e'as	'to frown'	'lu'f'e'as
jon	'blind'	jon

(In N. *jon* means 'vine')

The following vowel-correspondences, not yet confirmed by a sufficient number of examples to show any tendencies in the dialects, may be of value for future research:—

N.		Hu.
je'i	'flour-mill'	ja'i
'zə'ileka	'to walk well'	zə'ileka
gu'sharas		gu'sharas
ma'jut	'mosque'	ma'jit
gu'res	'dung'	gu'tras
(r'qbat) 'thoq'e'as	'to smack the lips' (at a pleasant taste)	'thaq'e'as
dojnas	'to catch'	dijnas
'gari	'eyeball'	gə'ri
əje	'beard'	əji
bə'urum	'how much'	bə'urum
ca'qarfo	'pus from the eyes'	cə'qrit

Consonants.

For a medial aspirated plosive in N., Hu. has generally a non-aspirated plosive, and in the light of the above-mentioned facts, it may be probably a case of deaspiration, and therefore a later stage, in the case of Hunza plosives. Cf.

N.		Hu.
'altar	'twenty'	'altar
'basim	'leg'	'basim
'əphat	'side'	'əpat
k h ə 'k h a c i	'to strutter'	g ə 'k a o r
imenas		imenas
jattal	'deer'	jattal
'loftur	'bell'	'loftur
mop'ər	'old prison'	mop'ər
'dəc'hənas	'to require'	'dəc'hənas
dəc'həras	'to cook'	dəc'həras
dəc'hias	'to press, to be sullen'	dəc'hias
'dəc'qublanas	'to knead'	'dəc'qublanas
d'c.mathelas	'to yawn'	d'c.mathelas
'dischignas	'to hang'	'dischignas
dikhetas	'to be entangled'	dikhetas
'dunshras	'to spread' (as a carpet)	'dunshras
'diphrasas	'to be uprooted'	'diphrasas
'dritelas	'to wake'	dritelas
du'kukkuvtas	'to become lean'	du'kukkuvtas
'eltchalanas	'to turn the side of bread' (in baking)	'eltchalanas
ə'p'philanas	'to flatter'	ə'p'philanas
'əchias	'to press'	'əchias
əsthejas	'to extinguish'	'əsthejas
'e.thras	'to show'	'e.thras
jil'kbinas	'to beseech'	jil'kbinas
khuk'hōras	'to plane, prepare' (as an axle of wheel)	khuk'hōras
'ə-gu'sharas	'to make one go'	'ə-gu'sharas
ə'e.phenas	'to irritate'	ə'e.phenas
'e.sbumi	'sent'	'e.sumi
'e.ikhinas	'to teach'	'e.ikhinas
(Negation) 'ayunax'harang	'do not delay'	ə'make'rang
(conj. part.) 'uchi	'having-given'	'mēn
(conj. part.) nu'kushar	'having gone'	nu'kushar

In the beginning of words, however, Hunza seems to have a greater tendency for aspirated consonants in loan-words. Cf.

The reverse phenomenon may be noticed in the following words. It is not known whether these words are loans. Cf.

Hu.	N.
'phɛɪda	'pɛɪda
'phɪɪɪs	'pɪɪɪs
khɔɪ	kɔɪ
qa'tɛɪɲ	qa'tɛɪɲ
ta'tɪɲ	'vessel to churn milk'
sa'koɪmənəs	'lean against or upon'
	sa'koɪmənəs

Perhaps the above differences are only local—a matter for future investigation.

Immediately after the *negative* prefix, the voiced consonant in Hu. is invariably devoicedized, in N. it remains intact. Cf.

N.	Hu.
auɲ	auɲ
'auβɛɪ	'do not come'
'auβɛɪ	'do not wear'
'auɪɪɪ	'he did not come'
'auɪkɔɪm	'thou didst not come'
'auɪkɔɪs	'do not laugh'
'auɪarɪɪ	'does not ring'
'auɪsaɪɪ	'they may not laugh'

The above variations in negation are historically important taking us to the apparently earlier forms in N.

There occurs in N. a curious divergence from Hu. It consists in the absence of an intervocalic ɲ, which Hunza has. But in the case of N., it may or may not be a reverse case of syncope. It may indicate the greater aversion of Hu. to pure nasalization. Cf.

N.	Hu.
je'tɪmɪɪ	'flour-mills'
(eg. je'tɪ)	ja'tɪɪɪ
hɪɪɪ	'doors'
khɪɪɪ	'sides of the face'
ru'ɪɪɪ	'pasture-lands'
gu'ɪɪɪ	'women'
ti'ɪɪɪ	'eggs'

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The following variations among the final nasals may be noted:—

N.	Hu.
um	'thou'
ɬɪɪm	'a little'
but pɪɪɪ	'foam'
	pɪɪm

In the following words an initial g in N. corresponds to k in Hu., while a medial g corresponds to q:—

N.	Hu.
gar'ɪɪɪ	'the bird called "Moa" in English'
gu'tɪɪ	'a large wooden basket plastered with mud'
but ga'tɛɪɲ	'sword'
or qh'a'tɛɪɲ	
'dɪsɪɪɪmɪs	'to hang'
s'a-t'ɔɪɔɪɪɪ	'twilight'
'ɛɔɪɪɪ	'younger'
'auɪsaɪɪ	'they may not laugh'
'auɪarɪɪ	'does not ring'

In the following examples, a final s in N. corresponds to s in H., while a medial s corresponds to t:—

N.	Hu.
'garkas	'lizard'
balas	'bird'
but al'tas	'two' (aa.)
'dɛsɔɪɪs	'to awaken'
gɪsɔɪ	'leavened bread'
dɛsɔɪas	'to support'

The following variations cannot, for the present, establish any general result. They may be mere local variations. But the collection of the material may be of ultimate bearing on dialectical geography.

¹ This word has many pronunciations. It may be a loan-word. Cf. above, p. 140.

N.	Hu.
'gurgus	'gurgus
ku'tap	'book'
qha'qhas	'paper'
kegas	'cotton'
	gu'pas

We have N. l = Hu. r in

N.	Hu.
jal	'a pit'
day leshas	'female goblin'
br'lago	'colt'
but tur bñ ajes	'to break into a house'
	tul bñ ajes

In the following two examples l is lost before a plosive in N.:-

N.	Hu.
'e.thuras	'to show'
dējaba	'I strike'
	dēljaba

N. j corresponds to Hu. s in the following:-

N.	Hu.
'asfal	'face'
mas	'flood'
mas	mas
bəsan	'what'
	bəsjkan
	'of what kind'

N. m corresponds to Hu. b in the following:-

N.	Hu.
m'on g'tas	'to kiss'
maskeij	'name of a grass fatal to cattle'
	b'an g'tas
'muns	'ball of dough'
'umate	'on reaching'
	'boms
m = p in mñj'e.tas	'to make a "pu" pu" sound
	pij'e.tas
	with the lips

Most doubtful is the value of the following consonantal alternations, which I have noticed either in isolated instances or in conflicting forms:-

N.	Hu.
baryako	'red' pl.
pid	'a nit'
	bareuko
	giki

N.	Hu.
g'ikan	'patches of the rough shoe'
	'called b'a'us'
mut	'fat'
'dapa	'bundle'
jal'jar'e'tas	'to worry'
d'e.salas	'to vilify'
cu'kay	'lavatory'
'papalas	'to seethe or boil'
phaltoc	'strip of cloth to wrap round the legs in winter'
	'phali (perhaps a loan-word from Indo-Aryan)

therk	'dirt'	ther
brñ	'rice'	bras
Sh. brñ		
de'tagar	'fever'	te't.agor
di'ba	'is'	bi'fa

II. GRAMMAR.

Nominal declension.

While conjugation in Burushaski Grammar is very complicated, nominal declension is very simple. Cases are generally formed by the addition of post-positions.

The only cases which are declined are the genitive and the agent cases, both of which end in e. A sentence like

bəlj'a wazir 'e.rimi

'The king sent the Wazir' reminds one of the simplicity of English Grammar.¹

Nominal declension does not present any striking variations between the two dialects. In plural formation the differences noted are only phonetic. Cf.

N.	Hu.
Sg. gus, pl. gu'jians?	'women'
Sg. ays, pl. mñsind'aro?	'our wives'
(Hu. 95)	mñsind'aro
Sg. j, pl. r'jua	'sons'
	ju

¹ Cf. my article on Burushaski Texts in *Jugoslav Linguistics*, Vol. I, part 3, p. 30.

² Cf. p. 140.

³ Cf. p. 140.

Пронимы.

In the forms of the pronouns there is considerable phonetic diversity. Cf.

N.

Hu.

um.		
'khute, n.	'this' (near)	un, uy
'khuke, n. pl.	'these' (near)	'gute, n.
'khuse, aa.	'this' (near)	'guke, n. pl.
'khuse, aa. pl.	'these' (near)	'guse, n.
'ete, n.	'that' or 'this' (distant)	'guse, aa. pl.
'ekc, n. pl.	'those' or 'these' (distant)	'ike, n.
'ese, aa.	'that' or 'this' (distant)	'ike, n. pl.
'ese, aa. pl.	'those' or 'these' (distant)	'ise, aa.
		'ise, aa. pl.

Verb

In the verb, the verb substantive (with its forms as auxiliary), negation, and the conjunctive participle present notable variations.

In the verb substantive diversity exists in the forms of the n. sg. and aa. pl. Cf.

N.

Hu.

di'a	'is'	bul'a
di'lum	'was'	bulum
bi'o, aa. pl.	'are'	bi'en } aa. pl.
		or bie
bi'um, aa. pl.	'were'	bi'm
umainio, aa. pl.	'they will be'	umain'en }
		or umain'e }

The combination of the verb substantive as auxiliary with other verbs (so as to form the various tenses) leads to contractions in Hunza, which have been already described above (p. 135). Cf.

N.

Hu.

'gubda	'thou dost'	'goa
'gubam	'he had done'	't'am
'gubam	'he had been doing'	't'am

Negation.

The Phonetic peculiarities of negation in Hunza have been already given above (pp. 139, 140). The variety of initials in

Hunza negation, closely related as they are with pronominal prefixes, offers an interesting field for investigation into the original and intermediate forms of these prefixes. The following table shows the various forms of initials in negation:—

N.

Hu.

Object as 1st pers. sg.	au—	ajə— < * a+u+ə	u dropped, j as glide
" "	"	pl. 'aumt—	'amt— < * a+u+mi
" "	"	2nd sg. 'augu—	'ku— < * a+u+gu
" "	"	pl. 'aumə—	'mu— < * a+u+mu
" "	"	3rd sg. au—	ej— < * a+u+i
" "	"	pl. au—	oj— < * a+u+n

(the u of the original au has been dropped in Hu.)

The following conjugation of délas 'to beat' in the negative past tense will give an idea of the difference between the dialects:—

N.

Hu.

'he does not beat me'	'me je 'auedəjubai	'me je 'ajadljai
" "	" us' 'me mi 'aumt'dejubai	'me mi 'amuljai
" "	" thee' 'me um 'augu'dejubai	'me ug 'akutljai
" "	" you' 'me ma 'aumə'dejubai	'me ma 'amədljai
" "	" him' 'me khn 'auedəjubai	'me khn ejuljai
" "	" them' 'me u 'audəjubai	'me u ojljai

Also cf.

N.

Hu.

'auəvaba	'I do not eat it'	ejəvaba
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For further examples, see above, p. 136, and for the cleavage of the consonant immediately after the negative prefix, see p. 140.

The potential compound verb with the 'can'-sense is formed by the auxiliary 'vianas 'to be able' in N., but man'as 'to be' in Hu. Cf.

N.

Hu.

je 'etiv'la'jaba	'I can do'	je 'etiv'amajaba
je 'etivaulajaba	'I cannot do'	je 'etivaj'umajaba

In the optative mood, N. has i before g; in Hu. it is often lost. Cf.

N.

je a'mana
um gu'mana
je d'eliga

'I may become'
'thou mayest become'
'I may beat'

Hu.

o'māgo
gu'māgo
d'eliga

The conditional, which signifies unfulfilled condition, is formed in N. by the addition of -sum to the future; in Hu. by the addition of -se. Cf.

N. sabur ja m d'ejamsum, in d'jūasmi

yesterday I him would have beaten he escaped

Hu. saji ja in d'ejame, in d'jūasmi
(yesterday)

'I would have beaten him yesterday, but he escaped.'
Similarly cf.

N.

'eeemsum
'noemsum
'amejamsun

'I would have done'
'I would have gone'
'I would have become'

Hu.

'eumse
'necame
'amejame

The imperative mood has -u ending in N. where Hu. has -o. Cf.

N.

'sau
'disu

'tell'
'bring'
'diso

Hu.

'eso
'diso

cf. p. 137.

This mood also shows loss of the prefix de- in Hu. Cf.

N.

dusu
d'sokk
dachi

'bring'
'get down'
'give me'

Hu.

sū
sokk
achi

The causative shows despiration in Hu., where N. has the aspirate. Cf.

N.

'e.gu'charas 'to make one go' 'e.ku'garas

Hu.

For further examples, vide p. 139.

Particularly notable are the variations in the conjunctive participle in these dialects:

The Hu. conj. part. has a -n ending, N. is without it. Cf.

N. conj. part. Hu. conj. part.

dagajos

'to be hidden'

nu'taga

nu'tagon

d'a.gases

'to laugh'

d'a.gas

d'a.gasen

'd'ejajas

'to hinder'

d'efa

d'ejan

d'ijos

'to be wet'

dijl

dijlin

N. dojnas

'to catch'

dajn

dajnin

Hu. duynas }

'to come out'

du'ajfa

du'ajfin

du'asas (pl.)

'to bring'

du'as

du'sun

du'sujas

'to tell'

'nesu

'nesun

etas

'to do'

'neti

'netan

'e.las

'to prick'

'ne.li

'ne.lm

'e.stagjas

'to conceal'

'ne.staga

'ne.stagon

ijas

'to plunge'

nijl

nijlan

ijjas

'to cling to'

'nija

nijen

ijjasas

'to meet'

'nipe

nipen

ijjas

'to give'

nijū

nijūn

ijū:as

'to be dry'

nijū

nijūn

or ijū:as

ijū:jas

'to breed'

nijūfa

nijūfan

ijūes

'to come'

di

din

janas

'to carry'

'nuka

nu'kan

N. gaujjas }

'to pick up'

nu'kav

nu'kōnn

Hu. gojjas }

'to enter in large number'

nu'kija

nu'kion

gr'ejjas

'to weave'

nu'krfa

nu'krjen

gr'i:as

'to put in'

nu'ki

nu'ken

nias

'to go'

ni

nin

fejjas

'to eat'

nu'je

nu'jeu

(2) The despiration of the consonant in Hunza after the conj. part. prefix has been already illustrated in 'necan, 'having given, nu'kuser 'having gone' on p. 139. Cf.

N.

ahujas

'to take away'

'nigau

'nigun

'd'egchias

'to press'

'd'eghi

'd'egun

'f'ehias

'to press'

'n'ephi

'n'egun

gu'chjas

'to sleep'

nu'ku'cha

nu'ku'cen

gu'charas

'to go'

nu'ku'cher

nu'ku'cor

'chias

'to give'

'nuchi

'nucin

i'khaciis	'to shut in'	N.	'nikhaci	Hu.
i'qharas	'to break'		nqher	nqer
kha'ranas	'to delay'		'nukheran	'nukeran

(3) This -n does not occur as conj. part. ending under the following conditions:—

(a) When the root already ends in -n, cf.

	N.	Hu.
gy'i'sugmas	'to consult'	nu'kusgin
gy'i'mmas	'to write'	ni'krtm
i'char'kanas	'to cudgel'	'nqhar'ken
imanas	'to become'	'numa
se'nas	'to say'	'nuse

The last two forms are irregular in N., but the corresponding Hu. forms are quite regular.

An exception to this heading is *du'gnas* (N.), Hu. *du'gnas*, which in Hunza has the conj. part. *du'gnm*.

(b) When the verb has the prefix *i* or *di*. Cf.

	N.	Hu.
i'qholes	'to ache'	'nqhol
i'phalas	'to be injured'	ni'phalt
di'kharas	'to decrease'	'dikhar

(4) The following unusual forms can be explained by Vowel Harmony:—

(a) N. *ni'mm* 'having drunk'

(b) Hu. *nu'jioi* sg. 'having put on (a coat)'

(a) In N. *shul ni'mm* 'having drunk water' we had expected *nu'mm*, because it is a general rule in both the dialects that the conjunctive participle of a neuter verb is formed by prefixing *nu-* to the root, whether the object of the verb is sg. or pl., cf.

N.	Hu.
nu'je	'having eaten'
'nuka	'having carried'

So we had expected *nu'mm* from the neuter verb *ni'mas* 'to drink' and thus the Hunza form *ni'mm* might seem to be regular. But phonetically the Naga form *ni'mm* is more regular, for neuter roots with *i* or *u* take the prefix *ni* in both the dialects. Cf. the conj. part. of

	N.	Hu.
gy'i'mmas	'to write'	ni'krtm
gi'as	'to put in'	ni'ki

(b) The explanation of *nu'jioi* as being due to vowel harmony has been already given in the present writer's article on *Burushaski Tense* in 'Indian Linguistics', Vol. I, part 3, pages 24, 25.

The following forms of the conj. part. in Hunza are irregular:—

	N.	Hu.
du'gnas	'to fasten or tighten'	ni'dugu sg.
(as with a key)		'ni'dugu pl.
du'as	'to bring'	'di'au
th'jis	'to be extinguished'	nu'tha
th'is	'to pour'	nu'thi

In the last example we had expected a deaspiration of *th*, as in *ni'mm* 'having given'.

Adjective formation in both the dialects does not show any variation, the normal adjectival ending being -um, as in *ni'mm* 'black'; *bu'grum*, 'white'. Cf., however, the alternation *t : l* in the structure of the following ordinal number:—

Hu.	N.
th'a-stum	'hundredth'

The N. form is here regular, as in both the dialects -ulum is the normal ordinal ending, though the initial *u* in Hu. is generally dropped, cf.

N.	Hu.
'wuk'ulum	'fourth'
ni'f'ndulum	'fifth'

Hu. *th'a-stum* is therefore irregular.

Some *adverbs* in N. end in -i, where we have *o* or *u* in Hu., e.g.

N.	Hu.
'kui	'even'
'amuli	'where'
'amulum	'whence'

III. VOCABULARY.

A glance through the standard list of words and sentences given in the Appendix may lead the reader to suppose that the

so-called 'dialects' are only phases of one and the same dialect, there being few differences among the words given except a little difference in pronunciation here and there.

But as I pointed out in a printed circular to the Linguistic Society of India (Sept. 6, 1930), the key-words and phrases in the I.S.I. are not of much value for inter-dialectical research. Those key-words are of a generic type and may be nearly identical among several dialects with a common culture.

Shibboleths.

In my investigation of the Hunza and the Nagari dialects I examined a number of informants, some of them quite old and with a keen observation of linguistic variations. I collected the following shibboleths from them, shibboleths which they said had often come to their notice and had been talked about as differentiating the Hunza from the Nagari dialect:—

Hu.	N.
ga'jd	'firewood'
charb'ajo	'upper hips' (human) ca'takfo
'gugundl	'dove'
darogu	'stick'
etis'amajbda	'I can do'
fu'ar	'war'
	bu'ga
	Sh. bingā

Dialects, in which differences like the above occur, cannot, without extraordinary reasons, be supposed to be identical. As regards the directions in which differences in vocabulary occur, it will be noted that most of the words relating to the human body, the human relations and the numerals—the hackneyed test of philologists—are almost identical,—indicating a common origin and a common culture. But striking differences occur in words relating to the Forest and agricultural life, utensils and instruments, and natural and physical phenomena.

A striking feature of the Vocabulary is the poverty of adjectives and abstract terms. For such a concept as 'fruitful', the dialects have

but ujaihi 'it carries a great deal'
but u'inas tam dī'a 'the tree is carrying a great deal'
There is no word for 'height'. For 'what is its height?' the only available idiom is 'how high is it?'

'khuse bā'urum th'anum bi
But the dialects are very rich in 'Enumerative idiom' (cf. my article on *Burushaski Tests* in 'Indian Linguistics',

Vol. I, part 3, p. 23), in which minute details of actions have separate words as in Mundā,—Hunza, in this respect, being richer than Nagari. The following directions of variations in vocabulary, then, may be indicated—:

(1) Words relating to forest and agricultural life.

Hu.	N.
edap	'harvest'
ba'gundo	'yeast'
bekasam	'apricot-pickles'
bysq's'galgu	'centipede'
ba'gondo	'maize-bread'
buc	'male-goat for propagation'
buja'ic'are	'cowherd'
bu'gusur'yo	'cow-house' (for winter)
bu'ghar'al	'cowhouse' (for summer)
dīr	'boundary'
carī	'cricket' (insect)
'chare-bas	'a small inaccessible dense forest on mountain'
chhar'qal	'the large wasp'
qum'ili	'a tiny crust of stone or wood'
'galug	'precipice with con-structed steps'
'gikim	'small bundle of wood'
gun-'holanās	'the bat' (night's)
ar'bito	'the bat' (day's)
gus-buk	'bitch'
ku'ti	'cottage'
ga'jd	'firewood'
	Sh. qn 'grain',
	'gur
	gal'dj'ne or kal'tas
	Sh. gal'laq
	col'toppo
	Sh. ts'vori
	'shula
	bu'jelt'are
	for both 'cowherd' and 'shepherd'.
	In Hu. it means 'shepherd' only
	tark
	dar Sh. dar
	fu'fui
	'chare-'tavi
	nu'ch'ari
	yipini
	kap'info
	'to'pi
	Sh. latāp'm
	ā'ō'et-buk
	Sh. sō'gi 'female'
	'dūkuri
	'cuni

Hu.

gu'ingmamò
'gugundlì

'raw milk'
'dove'

N.

'ramo mamò
kùti

Sh. kōtì kunlì

gu'tuk
gus

'stone'
'clod of earth'

hal

'fox'

phing'qì
lōt

Sh. lō'ì

hal'den

'goat'
'walnut-kernel'

jeit
khakhai

has

'green walnut'
phir'an (In Hu. it
means 'spider')

'holenas

'moth'

br'an

'holenas

'butterfly'

'huco eukotae ust'at 'shoemaker' lit. expert
in sewing shoe

'fauter

'phulgo

'hump of cattle'
'mosquito'

mojto

'khuo

'apricot-pickles'

Sh. ph'ou

pa'tjung

cf. batgism above

jut

phr'lal

'wild mint'

gur'muphr'lal

phir'an

'spider'

Sh. tálbūrū

'phurane'phaskacag

'spider's web'

'tālēbūdōphr'lām

'phute]u'tukumus
or 'pharmanus

'mushroom' (umbrella-
form) lit. 'ghost's buds
or caps'

'fuyure

rimzil

'civet'

mr'dair

sur'mus

'large skin-bag'

Sh. mltsh'ir

su'putt

'horse's dung'

mej's

'phake'tas

'to massage a horse'

baget

tg'u'li

'male sheep' (young)

this is the com-
mon word for
animal dung in
general in both
the dialects

'male sheep' (grown-up)

'qagera'c'tas

kor'e'lo

(2) Words relating to utensils and instruments.

Hu.

'asumbalk 'a wooden contrivance which
directs the speed of a flour-
mill'

N.

vi

'oaki

'pillow'

v'uckis

Sh. onokis

'cushion for chair'

etaf'gir

'tongs'

'sappi

'chukus

'bow-string'

gun

'dagu

'glue'

daulk

dam'bur

'large wooden basket plastered
with mud'

Sh. dāk

'hamuk

'basket for bread'

gu'tul

har'qum

'the yoke of a plough'

thaijō

h'k'm

'ear-ring'

as'qum

g'f'alt

'ladle'

'magun

ka'dakus

'stocks for punishment'

qōri

'khaci

'pail'

avrikus

khaw'as

'leather-bag fitted with strap'

'paqda

jyjn

'rug'

borokoj

pu'l'tunig

'bellows'

'khama

pu'elo

'fute'

pho'jon

tu'tur

'whip or scourge'

g'a'bi

'thay'akus

'a constantly moving wooden
contrivance in a flour-mill'

j'k'an

ka'deki

(3) Words relating to natural and physical phenomena.

Hu.

N.

chrl'haralt

'thin cloud'

burgajl

'ogur

'thick cloud'

'cloud, mist'

buy'rujre

'white cloud'

Sh. būrgāl

(there being no special
word for a 'cloud')

'bare'ul'm

'dambu

'bubble'

(lit. 'stream's eye')

gambej'ali

'sleet'

'uqal

hion

'hail'

garej]

<i>Hu.</i>	<i>N.</i>
'nironqj	bijojn
	Sh. bižon
us'qun	bu'jal
	Sh. bŕja'1
tirris	jur'uj
	Sh. cur'tai

(4) Words relating to time.

<i>Hu.</i>	<i>N.</i>
'jimale	jum'den
sq'fi	sabur
'sasa'tumo	'famo
pojn	dēn 'year'

(5) Words relating to the human body.

<i>Hu.</i>	<i>N.</i>
aw'as om'en	'jaw'
char'b'ajo	'upper hips'
kernei	'ear-hole'
aslet	'moustache'
mar'muken	'handful'
'phure't	'a scar'
hiq'e'tas	'to hiccough'
jaq'yer	'squin'
ij'pim	'child's penis'
'gaw'a'dito	'mad'
e'char'ing men'as	'to be hoarse'
'hup'e'tas	'to drink with a noise'
(joko) 'phirik'e'tas	'to open a small wound'
(jooq) sar'e'tas	'to open a large wound' (for both meanings)
'gar'e'tas	'to pass fluid stools'

(6) Words relating to various actions.

<i>Hu.</i>	<i>N.</i>
aqaj'ure janas	'to carry a child on one's 'hapa janas side'

<i>Hu.</i>	<i>N.</i>
byjkinas	'to beg'
	du'maras
	(this word occurs in both the dialects)
'hani 'br'agqotas	'to break apricot-kernel'
'shilpupurotas	'to rub or press with hands', as dough
dal'ilinas	'to unhusk'
dal dije	'arise'
'digrilas	'to cut and lay in heaps'
(heralt) di'argas	'to rain'
d'j'ghokkuras	'to be tangled'
	jus
	gar'walas
	galat'olki
	'e'las
do'jenas	'to prick'
(ba) dojras	'to fall' (said of a horse)
dojras	'to fall' (said of snow)
'dang'e'tas	'to bake'
hik'e'tas	'to fill'
'shanas	'to count' (object neuter)
u'shanas	'to count' (object non-neuter)
	u'shanas (for both)
'khar'ge gum'gam	'to soliloquize in muttering voice'
men'as	'to leave'
'rarkas	'to copulate'
mo'mir'as	'to read'
'galen'as	'to brush a horse'
tko'jelas	'to clap with hands'
'ghar'ge'tas	'to sprout'
thra'qum'on'as	'to castrate a bull or buffalo'
sar'bar'ge'tas	'to read'
	sa'baq sēnos
	'ghasqotas
	Sh. khue tholki
	'urap'e'tas
	disk'as
	'aqta e'tas

Under the above head, semantic variations may be noticed in relation to the following words—:

<i>Hu.</i>	<i>N.</i>
bi'j'e'jes	'to fire a gun' (v'maq)
	'to spread' (a carpet, etc.)
	In Hu. 'wajias is used in this sense.

Hu.

V.

'chajpanas 'to mend'

'to sew'

In Hu. 'guketlas is used in

this sense.

daldiej 'arise'

'to keep standing the

whole day long'

ga'vamuras 'to press kneaded dough finally'

'to press woven cloth'

In N. only dëqquhulanias

is generally used for

all the processes.

r'mutes

'to cut bread into slices'

'to mince grass or dry bread'

For mincing grass Hu. has

'zarazeraq glas.

'jagujas

'to pick up with hands'

'to search for, as a person.

In Hu. it cannot be used

with reference to a

non-neuter object;

byjrenas 'to search'

is used instead.

(7) *Adjectives and abstract terms.*

Hu.

N.

alokkum

'pair'

'hukum

ba'barum

'disagreeable in smell'

gas'parum

chutan

'a little' (for water)

thujan

phiben

'some' (as walnuts)

kauten

qaj

'difficult to break'

camarqto

gal'gum

'enemy'

'dujman

huk'heji

'once'

hik-daman

'huma

'shallow'

fal

kbut

'broad'

'fo-qum

mi'nas

'story'

n'mas

'phoppug

'bastard'

'amulo

qbas

'fragile'

mu'ihaso

ram'rat

'level'

gu'tum

roi

'desire, will'

raqq

Enumerative idiom.

The above vocabularies, as for cloud, cowherd, cowhouse, mule sheep, etc., will show that the 'Munda' tendency for 'enumerative idiom' is greater in Hu. than in N., for in the former there are separate words for the detailed aspects of an object or action, thus to 'knead' in the first stage is dëqquhulanias, but the final press is ga'vamuras. In N. dëqquhulanias is the only word used throughout. For further examples see the above vocabularies. The closer relation of Nagari with Shina will be also clear from the above vocabularies.

Conclusion.

The above pages give us the following results—:

(1) The dialects of Hunza and of Nagari are appreciably distinct dialects, though they are not separate.

(2) Hunza is pre-eminently a dialect of contractions, and manifests a later stage in the development of Burushaski.

(3) But while phonologically and grammatically Hunza shows a later stage of Burushaski, it preserves better the original vocabulary of the language, the vocabulary of Nagari being contaminated with Shina.

(4) Burushaski is still an unclassified language, its classification being a subject for future investigation, but the above dialectal study has facilitated the approach to this classification. For Burushaski being now a mixed language, unless a comparatively primitive *Gemein-Burushaski* is reconstructed, its relation to other languages cannot be definitely established. The direction to this reconstruction of *Gemein-Burushaski* is afforded by the above study, which shows us that for this purpose we have to look for the phonological and grammatical forms of Nagari and the vocabulary of Hunza.

(5) The above facts have also a bearing on general Linguistics.

(a) In our methods of Dialectology, we have to bear in mind that for the reconstruction of a *Gemein-Sprache*, we may have to look for its Phonology and Grammar in one of its dialects and vocabulary in another. A language or a dialect may be old in grammar, but may look very modern from the standpoint of vocabulary. A comparison of Panjābi with Bengali will illustrate this. Panjābi is an older language grammatically, but its vocabulary has been greatly Persianized. The reconstruction of an older *Gemein-Panjābi* will require a reference to allied languages with an older vocabulary.

(b) The above study also throws light on the methods of inter-dialectical research. It shows in what directions the vocabulary of two dialects, which on the surface seem to be identical, can vastly differ. Dialects with a common culture

need not show any striking difference in vocabulary relating to the human body, blood-relations and the numerals. Inter-dialectical research in vocabulary requires the exploration of other fields, as forest and agricultural life, natural and physical phenomena, and the various 'secondary' activities of man.

APPENDIX.

Standard words and sentences according to the scheme of the *Linguistic Survey of India*.

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STUDIES IN BUNARSHAKI DIALECTOLOGY

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English.	Hunza.	Nagari.	L.S.I. equivalent.
1. One.	han, hin, hik; han'hagur one horse; hin hir, one man; hik den, one year.	han, hin, hik	Han, hin, hik; han haghur, one horse; hin hir, one man; hik din, one year.
2. Two.	'alta, al'tan, 'alto; 'alta ha'gurifo, (or 'hagur) two horses; al'tan'hiri, two men; 'alto 'denig, two years.	al'tas, al'tan, 'alto al'tas ha'gurifo, two horses.	altā, altan, alto; altā haghur, two horses; altān hiri, two men; alto dining, two years.
3. Three.	'usko, is'ken, 'iski; 'usko ha'gurifo (or 'hagur), three horses; is'ken'hiri, three men; 'iski 'denig or den, three years.	'usko, is'ken, iski	Uskō, iskin, iski; uskō haghur, three horses; iskin hiri, three men; iski dining, three years.
4. Four.	'walto, 'walti; 'walto ha'gurifo (or 'hagur), four horses; 'walto 'hiri, four men; 'walti 'denig or den, four years.	'walto, 'walti	Waltō, waltī; walto haghur, four horses; walto hiri, four men; waltī dining, four years.

English.	Hunza.	Nagari.	L.S.I. equivalent.
5. Five.	'shundo, 'shmdī; 'shundo ha'guriso (or 'hagur), five horses; 'shundo 'hiri five men; 'shmdī 'dēniṅ or dēn, five years.	'shundo, 'shmdī	Sundō, sindī; sundō haghur, five horses; sundō hiri, five men; sindī dining, five years.
6. Six.	mi'fmdo, mi'fmdī; mi'fmdo ha'guriso, six horses; mi'fmdo 'hiri, six men; mi'fmdī 'dēniṅ, six years.	mi'fmdo, mi'fmdī	Mashindo, mashindī; mashindo haghur, six horses; mashindo hiri, six men; mashindī dining, six years.
7. Seven.	'thalo, thale; 'thalo ha'guriso, seven horses; 'thalo 'hiri, seven men; 'thale 'dēniṅ, seven years.	'thalo, 'thale	Thalo, thalē; thalo haghur, seven horses; thalō hiri, seven men; thalē dining seven years.
8. Eight.	al'tambo, al'tambi; al'tambo ha'guriso, eight horses; al'tambo 'hiri, eight men; al'tambi 'dēniṅ, eight years.	al'tambo, al'tambi	Altambō, altambī; altambō hagur, eight horses; al- tambō hiri, eight men; al- tambī dining eight years.

9. Nine.	'hupco, 'hupṭi; 'hupco ha'guriso, nine horses; 'hupco 'hiri, nine men; 'hupṭi 'dēniṅ, nine years.	'hupco, 'hupṭi	Hunchō, hupṭi; hunchō haghur, nine horses; hun- chō hiri, nine men; hupṭi dining, nine years.
10. Ten.	tōrumo, tōrimi; tōrumo ha'guriso, ten horses; tōrumo 'hiri, ten men; tōrimi 'dēniṅ, ten years.	tōrumo, tōrimi	Tōrmō, tōrmī; tōrmō haghur, ten horses; tōrmō hiri, ten men; tōrmī dining ten years.
11. Twenty.	'altar	'althar	altar; altar haghur, twenty horses; altar hiri, twenty men; altar dining, twenty years.
12. Fifty.	'alto altar tōrumo	'altu althar tōrumo	Alto altar tōrmō
13. Hundred.	th'a	th'a	Thāh
14. 1.	je, ja	je, ja	Jē, jā
15. Of me.	ja	ja	Jā
16. Mine.	ja, ja bi, mine is.	ja, ja bi	Jā; whose horse is this? Jā bi, mine is.
17. We.	mi	mi	Mi
18. Of us.	mi	mi	Mi
19. Our.	mi, mi ha'guriso, our horses.	mi, mi ha'guriso	Mi; mi haghur, our horses.
20. Thou.	uṅ, un, 'uṅe, 'une	um, 'ume	Ung, Ungē

English.

Hunza.

Nagari.

L.S.I. equivalent.

21. Of thee.	'uŋe; 'uŋe 'hagur, <i>thy horse.</i>	'ume; ; 'ume 'hagur	Ungē; ungē haghur, <i>thy horse.</i>
22. Thine.	'uŋe, 'une	'ume	Ungē
23. You.	m'a	m'a	Mah
24. Of you.	m'a	m'a	Mah
25. Your.	m'a; m'a 'hagur, <i>your horse.</i>	m'a; m'a 'hagur	Mah; mah haghur, <i>your horse.</i>
26. He.	in, 'ine	in, 'ine	In, inē
27. Of him.	'ine	'ine	Inē
28. His.	'ine; 'ine 'hagur, <i>his horse.</i>	'ine; 'ine 'hagur	Inē; inē haghur, <i>his horse.</i>
29. They.	'ue	'ue	Ūē
30. Of them.	'ue	'ue	Ūē
31. Their.	'ue; 'ue ha'guriŋo, <i>their horses.</i>	'ue; 'ue ha'guriŋo	Ūē; pē haghur, <i>their horses.</i>
32. Hand.	irin	irin	Irīp
33. Foot.	jyŋis	jyŋis	Yūŋis
34. Nose.	r'mupus	r'mupus	Imūpush
35. Eye.	'ilein	'ilein	Ilchin
36. Mouth.	r'qhatt	r'qhatt	lkbat
37. Tooth.	im'e	im'e	Imih

38. Ear.	'iltuməl	'iltuməl	Iltūmal
39. Hair.	gu'jaŋ	gu'jaŋ	Ghoyang
40. Head.	'jaŋis	'jaŋis	Yaŋis
41. Tongue.	jyŋmus	jyŋmus	Yūmus
42. Belly.	jyŋl	jyŋl	Yūl
43. Back.	r'valdas	r'valdas	Ivāldas
44. Iron.	chu'mar	chu'mar	Chhomar
45. Gold.	'genis	'genis	Ghinish
46. Silver.	buŋri	buŋri	Burī
47. Father.	jū	jū	Yū
48. Mother.	'mi	'mi	Imi
49. Brother.	'eəo	'eəu	Ēcho
50. Sister.	jas	jas	Yas
51. Man.	hir	hir	Hir
52. Woman.	gus	gus	Gus
53. Wife.	jyŋs	jyŋs	Yūs
54. Child.	hilas	hilas	Hilas
55. Son.	ij	ij	I
56. Daughter.	ēi	ēi	Ēi
57. Slave.	əon	əon(?)	Təun
58. Cultivator.	ə'dapkwin	ə'dapkwin	Burushin
59. Shepherd.	hu'jeltarə	hu'jeltarə	Hoyaltars
60. God.	qhu'da	qhu'da	Khudā

English.	Hunza.	Nagari.	L.S.I. equivalent.
61. Devil.	feit'an	feit'an	Shaitān
62. Sun.	s'a	s'a	Sab
63. Moon.	halang	halang	Halang
64. Star.	esij	esij	Aal
65. Fire.	phū	phū	Phū
66. Water.	ghil	ghil	Sil
67. House.	h'a	h'a	Hā
68. Horse.	'hagur	'hagur	Haghur
69. Cow.	buja	buja	Buvā
70. Dog.	huk	huk	Huk
71. Cat.	buſ	buſ	Buſh
72. Cock.	(hir) qər'qamup	(hir) qər'qamup	Hir karkamush
73. Duck.	ph'arig	ph'arig	Pharish
74. Ass.	ja'kun	ja'kun	Jakun
75. Camel.	ut	ut	uth
76. Bird.	balas	balas	Balas
77. Go.	nī ; to go, nias	nī, nias	Nī ; to go, nias
78. Eat.	si ; to eat, sias	si, sias	Shī ; to eat, shias
79. Sit.	hu'rut ; to sit, 'hurutās	hu'rut, 'hurutās	Harut ; to sit, harutas
80. Come.	jū ; to come, j.ūās	jū, jūās	Ju ; to come, jūas

81. Beat.	dēli ; to beat, dēlias	dēli, dēlias	Deli ; to beat, dellas
82. Stand.	daldije ; to stand, daldiejjas :	hartman'e, hartman'as	Diyih ; to stand, Diyihās
83. Die.	gujir ; to die, ijrās :	gujir, ijrās	Gufr ; to die, iras
84. Give.	juy ; to give, jujjās :	juy, jujjās	Yū ; to give, jūas
85. Run.	g'arə ; to run, g'arəās :	g'arə, g'arəās	Gārta ; to run, gārtās
86. Up.	'jate	'jate	Yate
87. Near.	osijr	osijr	Asir
88. Down.	j'are	j'are	Yarē
89. Far.	methan	methan	Mathan
90. Before.	j'ar, 'ingi	j'ar, 'ingi	Angē
91. Behind.	'ilji	'ilji	Ilji
92. Who.	'amin	'amin	Amin
93. What.	bəsan	bəsan	Bisan
94. Why.	'bəse	'bəse	Bisē
95. And.	ke	ke	kih
96. But.	'ama	'ama	Ammā
97. If.	-ke (added to verb)	aqqhna)	Akhnā
98. Yes.	'awa	'awa	Awā
99. No.	b'e	b'e	Bih
100. Alas.	'hajo	'ajo	Afsōe
101. A father.	hm jū	hm jū	Hin yū
102. Of a father.	hm jūe	hm jūe	Hin yūē
103. To a father.	hm jūor	hm jūor	Hin yūar

	English.	Hunzi.	Naguri.	L.S.I. equivalent.
104.	From a father.	hin jûsum	hin jûsum	Hin yû tsum
105.	Two fathers.	Al'tan jûsaro	Al'tan jûsaro	Altan yûsarō
106.	Fathers.	jûsaro	jûsaro	Yûsarō
107.	Of fathers.	jûsarue	jûsarue	Yûsarōē
108.	To fathers.	jûsaruer	jûsaruer	Yûsarō ar
109.	From fathers.	jûsarugum	jûsarugum	Yûsarō tsum
110.	A daughter.	hm ôi	hm ôi	Hin ôi
111.	Of a daughter.	hin ôie	hin ôie	Hin ôiē
112.	To a daughter.	hm ôimur	hm ôimur	Hin ôimur
113.	From a daughter.	hin ôimogum	hin ôimogum	Hin ôimugum
114.	Two daughters.	Al'tan jûgu'fane	Al'tan 'igu'fane	Altan yûgishane
115.	Daughters.	jûgu'fane	'igu'fane	Yûgishane
116.	Of daughters.	jûgu'fane	'igu'fane	Yûgishane
117.	To daughters.	jûgu'faneer	'igu'faneer	Yûgishaneer
118.	From daughters.	jûgu'faneegum	'igu'faneegum	Yûgishanemugum
119.	A good man.	hin sua sis	hm sua sis	Hin daltas hir
120.	Of a good man.	hin sua 'sise	hin sua 'sise	Hin daltas hirē
121.	To a good man.	hin sua siser	hin sua siser	Hin daltas hirar
122.	From a good man.	hin sua 'siseum	hin sua 'siseum	Hin daltas hirtsum
123.	Two good men.	Al'tan sua sis	Al'tan sua sis	Altan daltashkō hiri

124.	Good men.	sua sis	sua sis	Daltashkō hiri
125.	Of good men.	sua 'sise	sua 'sise	Daltashkō hirē
126.	To good men.	sua siser	sua siser	Daltashkō hiri
127.	From good men.	sua 'siseum	sua 'siseum	Daltashkō hirtsum
128.	A good woman.	sua gus	sua gus	Hin daltas gus
129.	A bad boy.	gu'neqishir'les	gu'neqishir'les	Hin ghunikish hilas
130.	Good women.	sua gushingane	sua gushingane	Daltas gushingane
131.	A bad girl.	gu'neqis da'sin	gu'neqis da'sin	Hin ghunikish dasin
132.	Good.	sua	sua	Daltas, ghōā
133.	Better.	(m'esum-) sua	(m'esum-) sua	But ghōā
134.	Best.	(ujōneum-) sua	(ujōneum-) sua	Oyōn tsum ghōā
135.	High.	th'anum	th'anum	Thānum
136.	Higher.	(is'esum-) th'anum	(is'esum-) th'anum	But thānum
137.	Highest.	(ujōneum-) th'anum	(ujōneum-) th'anum	Oyōntsum thānum
138.	A horse.	han 'hagur	han 'hagur	Han haghur
139.	A mare.	han b'alum	han b'alum	Han bāyum
140.	Horses.	ha'gurifo	ha'gurifo	Haghurishō
141.	Mares.	b'alumifo	b'alumifo	Bāyumishō
142.	A bull.	han 'ghindar	han 'ghindar	Han har
143.	A cow.	han buja	han buja	Han buvā
144.	Bulls.	ghim'darifo	ghim'darifo	Haro
145.	Cows.	buja	buja	Buvā
146.	A dog.	han huk	han huk	Han huk

English.	Hunza.	Nagari.	L.S.I. equivalent.
147. A bitch.	gus-huk	s'ōqi-huk	Han gus-huk
148. Dogs.	hu'kai	hu'kai	Hukai
149. Bitches.	gufjiganə hu'kai	s'ōqi-hu'kai	Qushjiganə hukai
150. A he-goat.	han hal'dən	han jēt	Han haldin
151. A she-goat.	han əhijr	han 'əhigir	Han sir
152. Goats.	hal'dən	'jəttaro	Hoyas
153. A male deer.	jaṭṭol	jaṭṭhol	Han girl haldin
154. A female deer.	'jaṭəleəhijr	jaṭṭhole'əhigir	Han girl sir
155. Deer.	jaṭṭol	jaṭṭhol	Giri
156. I am.	je ba	je ba	jē bah
157. Thou art.	uŋ ba	um ba	ung bah
158. He is.	m bai	m bai	mē bai
159. We are.	mi b'an	mi b'an	Mi bān
160. You are.	ma b'an	ma b'an	Mah bān
161. They are.	u'e b'an	u'e b'an	Ūē bān
162. I was.	je b'ajəm	je b'ajəm	jē baiyam
163. Thou wast.	uŋ bam	um bam	ung bam
164. He was.	ⁱⁿ or 'mē } bam	in or 'mē bam	mē bam

165. We were.	mi bam	mi bam	Mi bam
166. You were.	ma bam	ma bam	Mah bam
167. They were.	u'e bam	u'e bam	Ūē bam
168. Be.	uŋ 'manə	um 'manə	Manih
169. To be.	mən'as	mən'as	Manās
170. Being.	mən'as	mən'as	Manumatē
171. Having been.	'niman	'niman	Bam
172. I may be.	je amāŋə	je 'amanisə	Jē amanghā
173. I shall be.	je amojam	je amojam	Je baiyam əkhir
174. I should be.	je amənas suə b'ila	je amənas suə d'ila	Je amānas əhōā bilā
175. Beat.	dēli	dēli	Deli
176. To beat.	dēliəs or dēləs	dēliəs or dēləs	Delias
177. Beating.	dēliəs or dēləs	dēliəs or dēləs	Nidilin
178. Having beaten.	'nidilm	'nidili	Nidilin
179. I beat.	ja dōljaba	ja dōljaba	Jē deljam
180. Thou beatest.	'uŋə dōlja	'ume dōjuba	ungē deljuā
181. He beats.	'mē dōljəi	'mē dōjubəi	mē deljai
182. We beat.	mi dōljaban	mi dōjaban	Mi deljān
183. You beat.	ma dōljan	ma dōjuban	Mah deljān
184. They beat.	u'e dōljan	u'e dōjuban	Ūē deljān
185. I beat (Past Tense).	ja dēlom	ja dēlom	ja dolyam
186. Thou beatest.	'uŋə dēluma	'ume dēluma	ungē delima
187. He beat.	'mē dēlimi	'mē dēlimi	mē delimi

English.	Hunza.	Nagari.	L.S.I. equivalent.
188. We beat.	mi dëlmen	mi dëlmen	Mi dellman
189. You beat.	ma dëlmen	ma dëlmen	Mah deliman
190. They beat.	u'e dëlmen	u'e dëlmen	Ūe dellman
191. I am beating.	ja dëljaba	ja dëljaba	Jē deljaba
192. I was beating.	ja dëljabajem	ja dëljabajem	Jē delja baiyam
193. I had beaten.	ja dëlhabajem	ja dëlhabajem	jē deliya baiyam
194. I may beat.	ja dëlja	ja dëlja	jē deljam
195. I shall beat.	ja dëljam	ja dëljam	jē deliasbah
196. Thou wilt beat.	'uŋe dëljuma	'ume dëljuma	ungē deljuma
197. He will beat.	'ime dëlji	'ime dëlji	mē delji
198. We shall beat.	mi dëljen	mi dëljen	Mi deljan
199. You will beat.	ma dëljumen	ma dëljumen	Mah deljuman
200. They will beat.	u'e dëljumen	mi dëljumen	Ūe deljuman
201. I should beat.	ja dëljes ma'niš	ja dëljes ma'niš	jā deliasahōābīlā
202. I am beaten.	je e'deles amenam	je e'deles amenam	Ādēlam āmānam
203. I was beaten.	je e'deles amenab'ajem	je e'deles amenab'ajem	Adēlam āmānabaiyam
204. I shall be beaten.	je e'deles amejam	je e'deles amejam	Jē adeliasahōābīlā
205. I go.	je 'nicaba	je 'nicaba	Jē nicham
206. Thou goest.	uŋ 'nica	um 'nicaba	ung nichomā
207. He goes.	m 'nicai	in 'nroubei	m nichoal

208. We go.	mi 'nicaban	mi 'nicaban	Mi nichan
209. You go.	ma 'nican	ma 'nrouban	Mah nichoman
210. They go.	u'e 'nican	u'e 'nrouban	Ūe nichoman
211. I went.	je niem	je niem	Jē niyam
212. Thou wentest.	um 'nima	um 'nima	ung nibam
213. He went.	in 'nmi	m 'nmi	in nmi
214. We went.	mi nimen	mi nimen	Mi niman
215. You went.	ma nimen	ma nimen	Mah niman
216. They went.	u'e nimen	u'e nimen	Ūe niman
217. Go.	ni	ni	Ni
218. Going.	nias	nias	Nin
219. Gone.	nim	nim	Nān
220. What is your name?	'uŋe guik bēsen bi'a	'ume guik bēsen di'a	ungē guik bisan bilah
221. How old is this horse?	'guse 'hagure b'erum pojn bi'a	'khuse 'hagure ba'urum den di'a	Gusē haghur bērum jat bi
222. How far it is from here to Kashmir?	khōlum g'ra'ako b'erum methan bi'a	khōlum g'ra'ako ba'urum methan di'a	Khōlum Kashmirar bērum mathan bilah
223. How many sons are there in your father's house?	'uŋe gue 'hale b'erumen 'jotumus b'an	ume gue 'hale ba'urumen jotumus b'an	ungē gū halē bērum yū bān
224. I have walked a long way to-day.	je khūltō buđ methan gan dëlaba	je khūltu buđ methan gan dëlaba	Khūltō mathan gusaram